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EAST TIMOR

A Bird's Eye View

For Internal Circle

COMMUNION OF CHURCHES IN INDONESIA
1988

INTRODUCTION

East Timor is situated in the eastern Part of Timor island, Northwest of Australia, and had been occupied by Portugal since the sixteenth century.

Viewed from the socio-economic aspect East Timor has nothing attractive with a relatively low socio-economic level. It was not only a burden for Portugal to maintain this colony at a high cost, but neither was there any intention to improve the people's life there.

It is probably the reason why the realm of East Timor had been escaped from the world attention until early 1975 when it abruptly became the main issue in the international forum.

This issue began emerging after the statement of Lisbon Government to decolonize the area bordering upon Indonesia in 1974. Political impacts and problems arose only after the new regime has gained control over Portugal with the support of a military coup d'etat and agreed upon the establishment of three political parties there to prepare the independence of East Timor people in the future. Expectedly this scheme could be realized in 1978. From time to time the orientation and objectives of that three parties was in ambivalence with the future hope of East Timor people with in turn resulted in a prolonged war.

Indonesia being the closest country to this area either politically, morally, geographically, sociologically, felt responsible to participate in creating security, peace and freedom for East Timor people.

Churches in Indonesia are called to participate positively, creatively, critically and realistically in functioning the salt and light to develop East Timor community for a more human and more just future.

I. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND PRINCIPAL ISSUES

When the national movement started struggling for the Independence of Indonesia in the early of 20th century, East Timor was no problem at all.

In the arguments on the threshold of the proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945 it was agreed that the independent Indonesia would only cover the territories which had ever been the West Indies.

The success of Indonesian struggle to fight for its independence, had echoed to the surrounding dominated areas. The Great Britain was quickly aware of the phenomena in those days, and soon began performing decolonization process which later resulted in the birth of Malaysia and Singapore. Although rather too late, Australia also performed decolonization process and resulted in the emergence of Papua New Guinea (PNG). By antagonizing the strong current around it, Portugal was presistently determined to remain controlling East Timor which they had long colonized as a part of her kingdom, for about 450 years.

As a consequence of that attitude, East Timor was not ready yet when "Red Flower Revolution" opening a decolonization prospect occured in Portugal on April 25, 1974. There were three political parties emerging in East Timor:

1. Timor Social Democratic Party (which later on became Fretilin), ideologically committed to the radical movement wing of Portuguese Revolution, with the objective of a total independence for Eat Timor;
2. Timor Democratic Union (UDT), ideologically committed to the conservative wing of Portuguese Revolution, with the objective to obtain an autonomy for East Timor under the Portuguese Authoriry;
3. Associacao Intergraciao de Timor (later on becoming APODETI), ideologically committed to Indonesia, with the objective to integrate to the Republik of Indonesia.

According to the promise of the Portuguese government during Spinola's regime, a referendum would be conducted on March 25, 1975 in East Timor. The mechanism therefore had already been established. People were free to establish political organizations, choose their political program, and then come to a

referendum which would determine the future of East Timor, whether or not it would be independent, remain in Portuguese administration, or integrated to Republic of Indonesia.

The referendum itself consituted the realization of democratization in Portuguese colonies.

There were three alternative political parties. Fretilin wished a total independence. Uni Democrat chose to be under Portugal, and Apodeti chose to integrate to Indonesia. After Spinola was dethroned by Goncalves, promise should not been broken, because referendum was included into the decree of the new Portuguese government internationally declared in the framework of supporting the UN's resolutions on decolonization, in which Portugal herself was put in the black list.

In conformity with the new policy of Portuguese government, supported by the Military Movement, the decolonization process would apply to East Timor region. In the framework of that process, three opportunieties were opened for East Timor people. Being independent, under the control of Portuguese government for instance in Commonwealth commitment or integrated to Indonesia. Accidentally, they had their respective supports there. Previously it was agreed by Portugal as stated in several negotiations with Indonesia, to take a fair process to accommodate the wish of East Timor people, say the democratic prosess.

During the process the three parties were compaigning there. The compaign did not only make the people in the home country the target, but they also invoked sympathy from other counties including Australia, Portugal and Indonesia.

The development became unnatural when Fretilin and UDT consolidated themselves and began physically pressing the Apodeti group. It was in such a way that some hundreds of people became the refugees to Indonesian Timor. The group wishing to integrate to Indonesia was not allowed to grow naturally.

Intimidation and terror made the people flee and save themselves to the Indonesian territory, which is certainly a problem necessary to be settled. The settlement therefore was not limited to repatriate them to Portuguese Timor territory but the more important thing was to secure the human right and freedom of the people to express their opinions and determine their future. Although the Apodeti party had been cornered in political life

in East Timor, the objective factors existing in the community remained the solid foundation for Apodeti to continue its struggle together with other supporting groups. The main factor was its political struggle on the basis of "self identity" of East Timor community in conformity with their environment and offspring origin which in fact obtained supports and sympathy from major social strata. The second factor being the struggle asset of Apodeti was the catholic tradition deeply rooted among the East Timor community, clearly opposing communism doctrines, becoming a heavy obstacle for the leftist movement to be taken into account.

The political refugees from Atsabe, a region in East Timor the population of which has had the awareness of being of same ethnic group as the Indonesia nation, since the old days expressed the significant role of "self identity" in determining the destiny of East Timor people.

The Batumanu King of Atsabe, extremely influential and ruled Atsabe tribe was compelled to deal with Portuguese military authority. As the Atsabe chieftain he was captured and tortured. This event arouse a big upheaval in the latest political development in East Timor, as it had offended more than 10,000 people of Atsabe Batumanu tribe supporting Apodeti party.

In this condition we could understand if there was suspicion within the Apodeti leaders against a fair attitude and policy of the ruling party in East Timor. A request by a cable had been directly addressed by that Party to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim to delegate a mission to East Timor so as to objectively evaluate the decolonization process and the right to determine their own destiny.

Noticing the doubtful political development, and conflicts both in Portugal and Portuguese Timor in those days, the idea of the objective role of the United Nations in the framework of implementing the decolonization and determining the future of people in East Timor could be the best way for all parties.

The Indonesian government regretted to the attitude of Portugal not making any effort to settle political conflicts in East Timor but reversibly gave an opportunity to Fretilin to stage its actions damaging the mutual understanding both that in Macao and in Rome one in order to confront the three parties in a negotiation. Fretilin conciously did not attend the meeting in Macao.

The Indonesia government was of the opinion that the self determination of East Timor people could only be possible if there was real orderliness and security there. The action to resume orderliness and security constituted a pre-requisite to a referendum pursuant to the appeal to truce of the United Nations.

In that situation, on October 8, 1974 the President of the Republic of Indonesia confirmed that:

1. Indonesia had no territorial ambition;
2. Indonesia respected the right of self determination of East Timor people;
3. If East Timor wished for an integration to the Republic of Indonesia, it was to be a part of the unity of the Republic of Indonesia and not as a Federal State.

It never occured to Indonesia that East Timor had to be taken by forces as it was not a national aspiration of the Republic of Indonesia. It was satisfied with the inclusion of Irian Jaya into Indonesia. Because if East Timor had become an aspiration of Indonesia territory, it would have been taken over in the sixties when Indonesia was ambitiously opposing colonialism and imperialism.

At a meeting between the Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares and the Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik in New York on September 21, 1974 the two parties agreed to cooperate and mutually consult in the framework of applying the right to self determination of East Timor people.

In a visit to Jakarta, on October 16, 1974 the Portuguese Overseas Affairs Minister Dr. Antonio de Almeida stated that it was unrealistic to think of a "self governing East Timor". It had been several times stated that Indonesia did not have any ambition of territorial expansion, and constantly respected the existing international obligation. On the contrary, the wish of East Timor people to be integrated to Indonesia could not just be neglected as long as within the constitutional limits and state philosophy of the Republic of Indonesia.

The issue of East Timor should be placed in its reasonable proportion, in which their future lied fully on their hand. The final decision was theirs, whether or not they would be integrated to Indonesia or to choose other alternatives. So that the promise of Lisbon government to leave the future of East Timor to the people had to be realized.

In the meantime, there was a development among the commissioned officers in East Timor which resulted in the establishment of "Timorese sergeants committee" in February 1975 which would later on be on Fretilin side and at the request of Portugal, a meeting was held in London in March 1975 between Indonesian and Portuguese delegates. Meantime it was agreed to establish a Consultative Body consisting of the three parties to assist the Governor of East Timor in decolonization process. The Portuguese delegates requested the Indonesian delegates to invite Apodeti to participate in that Consultative Body.

A meeting was scheduled to hold in Macao between the Portuguese government and the three parties. The Portuguese delegates requested Indonesia to liaise a delegation to monitor it. Meantime the Portuguese delegates agreed with the integration to Indonesia, provided that it would not be in contravention with their Constitution.

The Macao meeting held on 26th — 28 th June 1975, intially expected to achieve an agreement between Portugal and the three parties for the proposal of decolonization process to the Portuguese Government was boycotted by Fretilin, refusing to negotiate with Apodeti. Fretilin did not really intend to attend the Macao Meeting, as it was probably preparing non constituional measures to achieve his goal by relying on the support of colonial army elements.

All at a sudden, UDT (Uni Demokrasi Timor), the party wishing a continued relationship with Portugal, staged a coup d'etat in East Timor on August 17, 1975. It was much worried as it was proved that UDT participating in Macao meeting had a referendum to hold in October 1976 to determine the status of East Timor. The action of UDT also violated the principle of self determination by East Timor people, which was then arbitrarily ruined by staging the UDT's coup d'etat.

Seeing this development, it was worried that other parties, especially Fretilin, which since the Macao meeting had refused to participate, would also make a counter attack to UDT. If it had happened, East Timor would have become a battle field which would surely sacrifice the people of East Timor themselves.

On August 17, 1975, the Portuguese Governor together with

his staff left Dili and fled to Atauro island. Thus, in de facto, the Portuguese government had abandoned her responsibility. Shortly after that the Governor by this action, Portugal had actually released all her responsibilities, and therefore lost all historical rights and morals to speak as a sovereign authority on East Timor.

Meanwhile there was a rapid development. Between the 18th and August 17, 1975, the colonial army elements distributed weapons to Fretilin immediately followed by a counter coup d'etat by Fretilin on August 20, 1975. The leaders of DUT left Dili and Fretilin held power with the support of colonial army elements.

On August 23, 1975 the Portuguese Government invoked Indonesia to help evacuate Portuguese citizens and foreigners from East Timor; and the request was repeated once again on August 25, 1975. The same request was filed by the Secretary General of the UN to Australia and Indonesia on August 25, 1975. On August 27, 1975 Indonesia sent a war ship to Dili to give assistance in the evacuation from East Timor.

The situation in East Timor had than developed to an uncertain anarchical direction, so that an exodus from East Timor took place. Since the occurrence of a confusion with a coup d'etat by Fretilin in 1975 refugees moving to the boder of Indonesia numbering of around 50,000 people were in a very apprehensive condition. Some of them were forced to flee to Australia and the Portuguese colonial government itself evacuated to Atauro island. Viewed from the aspect of humanity it was a great misery for most refugees who had left their properties and activities, even their relatives and friends. The most suffering was the indigenous refugees who fled to the border with Indonesian territory and the East Timor people who had no chance to flee.

The civil war in East Timor resulted in a great fear to the community in both urban and rural areas. As Fretilin launched various actions endangering their safety such as intimidation, terment, murder, extermination, etc. This was disclosed in the reports on murder and bad treatments to the prisoners of war detained by Fretilin in Dili and Aileu from August 1975 to January 1976.

From the aspect of humanity it could be imagined what a severe misery arisen was, because they were forced to leave behind

their properties and even their relatives and friends who were unable to flee from a splitting spot.

The Indonesian consulate and some adjacent buildings were crowded by thousands of people dashing for safety. The worry and frustation lingered around thousands of people expecting to escape from the severity being in rampage there. The problem of physical suffering experienced by East Timor people could not be separated from the responsibility of the Portuguese authorities who had already fled to Atauro island, together with medical personnel and paramedics form East Timor inland. Consequently, quite many refugees had to remain sufferings without any help and finally died.

In the course of the civil war, thousands of refugees dashed for covers to Indonesian territory, among them were the leaders of UDT and Apodeti. These two parties then jointly made a counter attack and were succesful in occupying Batugede in October 2, 1975 followed by the occupation of Atbe in November 1975. Thus, the Fretilin authority had been countered. Then confusion, battles, terrors and uncontrollable cruelty spread throughout East Timor.

To overcome the chaos in East Timor, totally contradictory to the expectation of Macao Meeting which was boycotted by Fretilin, a "Memorandum of Understanding" was made between the government of Portugal and the government of the Republic of Indonesia in Rome on November 3, 1975 respectively represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Melo Artunes and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Adam Malik. The Rome "Memorandum of Understanding" among others stated that "both parties agreed to make coordinated and planned efforts so as to assure the political parties in East Timor of the importance of continuing the talk with the Portuguese Government find a solution pursuant to the wish of East Timor people".

The Australian Government agreed to provide a place for a meeting between the Government of Portugal and the three parties in Australia.

It was just in such a situation, that Fretilin unilaterally proclaimed the establishment of "Republik Demokratik Timor Timur/East Timor Democratic Republic" on November 28, 1975.

On November 29, 1975 the Government of Indonesia made a statement not to recognize the Fretilin's proclamation for self determination by East Timor people, in which Indonesia was recognized as the interested party, and it was in contravention with the Rome "Memorandum of Understanding". On the same date, November 29, 1975 the Australian Foreign Affairs Minister stated that the Government of Australia did not recognized proclamation of Fretilin.

On November 30, 1975 in Babilo the Apodeti and UDT together with the other two parties (Kota and Trabalista) by considering that be Fretilin's Proclamation eliminated all possi bilities of a peaceful solution on the issue of East Timor in line with the people's aspiration, revealed a Proclamation of the entire East Timor territory integration to the Republic of Indonesia.

Facing all possibilities of a prolonged civil war which automatically arouse the increasingly rampant suffering and terror, added with the possible intervention of any foreign force at the request of what so called the Republik Demokratik Timor-Timur (East Timor Democtratic Republic), Indonesia had to choose one of the two alternatives. Being indifferent or accelerating the process of self determination through a direct intervention. It was clear that there was no ideal situation but a choice should be made.

On December 7, 1975 Indonesia took the second alternative. All efforts were made to accelerate the process of self determination for East Timor people under a Provinsional Government. In the meantime, the United Nations issued a series of resolutions related to East Timor. The Government could not tolerate the worsening situation in East Timor which only brought about great sacrifices to the local people. The action of Indonesia towards East Timor from was none but to protect the people of East Timor from hostility, intimidation, suffering and fear due to the confusion occuring there, as well aggreession, subversion, and other things undermining the life of Indonesian living adjacent to that area.

The Indonesian support towards Babilo Resolution by sending volunteers to assist the troops of Apodeti, UDT, Kota and Trabalista, should not be interpreted as aggression or intervention. Because it was given after there was a mutual under-

standing between Indonesia and Asutralia and the statement of Babilo on November 30, 1975 on behalf of East Timor people wishing their integration to the Republic of Indonesia. This was strengthened with the aspiration of East Timor people closer to Indonesian people, viewed from the aspect of tribe, culture, tradition or national integrity which is social religious. Viewed from the geo-political aspect, the Indonesian support to the effort of East Timor to integrate to Indonesia had a sufficiently accountable consideration.

Based on the resolution of the United Nations dated December 22, 1975 an Italian diplomat Vittorio Winspeare Guicciarde serving as a special envoy of the United Nations Secretary General visited East Timor. His report was then published on February 26, 1976.

According to that report, the Provinsional Government of East Timor planned to call upon a Representation Agency to decide an attitude towards Babilo's Proclamation regarding Integration and invite a representative of the United Nations to witness all processes as the realization of self determination for East Timor people.

The United Nations did not give its reaction to the invitation of the Provinsional Government, but the scheme to implement self determination right was already made.

The Representation Agency issued a petition for the integration to the R.I. on May 31, 1976. As a response to the petition of East Timor People Representation, on July 17, 1976 a Law on Integration of East Timor to the Republic of Indonesia was ratified. This Law would come into force as from August 17, 1976.

Integration did not end a history. The internal problems were intricate enough such as a sufficiently long passification process, and to the victims, reconciliation, rehabilitation, and development of very much left behind due to the colonization for hundreds of years by Portugal without making anything singnificant of the people of East Timor.

II. TEN YEARS OF EAST TIMOR PROVINCE
1976 — 1986 : A Development Analysis

East Timor as the 27th Province of Indonesia.

On the will and wish of East Timor people, the territory of East Timor officially became the 27th Province of Indonesia on July 17, 1976. It means that this region constitutes an integral part of the territory of Indonesia, like the other 26 Provinces in Indonesia.

It was also on the wish of the people that the First Governor of this Province, Ir. Mario Viegas Carascalao, a gentlemen from East Timor was elected and appointed. The process of East Timor Integration to Indonesia was caused by a long historical background and being different from other regions in Indonesia. It underwent a lot of obstacles and challenges. It is due to among others:

1. that the East Timor constituted a region very long colonized by Portugal and one of the very long dominated foreign colonies in the world history (five centuries);
2. it consisted of various tribes and languages and used to be in the state of civil war, inter tribal war, so that the "divide et impera" by Portuguese could grow well;
3. that in the course of its history East Timor underwent changes and development in its groupings due to the political interest of the groups (Apodeti, UDT, Fretilin) and parties (Kota and Trabalista).
   It was an apparent manifestation of situation mentioned above, a culmination of conflict among the groups;
4. that during the colonial the socio-economic welfare of the community was very low (absolute backwardness), likewise education and health;
5. that viewed from the humanity aspect the political decision of Portugal on "self determination" in a sudden on April 25, 1974 was irresponsible both morally and ethically.

It was just in such a condition the Portuguese government left its ex colony, full of inter tribal, inter parties, and inter groups chaos in the amid of the poverty of East Timor people. Indonesia either geographically, antropologically, directly or

indirectly felt involved in this problem, was also morally responsible for the existence of the local community.

It was on that reason that Ali Murtopo when he was in Lisbon in October 1974, extended alternative to the Portuguese government regarding the status of East Timor: whether to remain under the Portuguese or Indonesian government.

The coup d'etat by UDT resulted in an uncertain situation. The Governor of East Timor Lemos Pires was unable to control the situation and evacuated to Atauro island (August 29, 1975). Uncertain situation and increasing tension caused many refugees from East Timor to the western part of territory (Indonesian territory) to ask for protection.

They dashed for cover due to war and short of food. This tragedy greatly draw attention of religious instituttions and international red-cross which later on gave assistance.

Such a condition arouse an idea among the leaders and followers of UDT and Apodeti together with Kota and Trabalista parties to ally to appose Fretilin which was Marxis-oriented and declared the integration to Indonesia.

Governor Lemos Pires then proposed a negotiation among the conflicting parties (Fretilin, Apodeti, and UDT) but Fretilin refused. On November 28, 1975 Fretilin unilaterally proclaimed the sovereignty of East Timor. War was unavoidable and the people became increasingly suffering. The unilateral declaration of Fretelilin, disregarding other public aspiration, was not acceptable. According to Dili Archbishop serving as the Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Archbishop who is very much spoken of in mass media recently the action of Fretilin was unrealistic. The Government of Indonesia considered the declaration of Fretilin in contravention with the aspiration and wish of the majority of East Timor people, and contradictory to the Preamble of the 1945 Constituion of the Republik of Indonesia saying that the ideal of Indonesian nation is "to take part in implementing the world orderliness based in freedom, eternal peace, and social justice".

Due to the spirit and determination of Indonesian nation, and the wish of the East Timor people to integrate to Indonesia, on December 6, 1975 the Indonesian Parliament (DPR) in its Session requested the Government of Indonesia to create peace and security in that region, especially to assist tens of thousands

of refugees on the border, and those who fled to mountains and forests and were afraid to return due to the war.

On December 7, 1975 the Indonesian Government began executing the mandate of the Indonesia Parliament to create peace and security in East Timor which gained severe resistance from Fretilin, so that sacrifice of lives and properties could not be avoided any longer. Some foreign mass media especially the groups called themselves as peace lover, justice enforcer and human rights defender launched extensive and offensive action with various issues such as "Voelkermord", "islamization", "javanization", "colonization", and so forth, as it the Indonesian Government by using various means would annihilate the "legal" government under Freitlin's government.

After the security in East Timor had been put under control (by Indonesian Government) and based on the wish of the groups mentioned above to have an integration to Indonesia, On July 17, 1976 the Government of Indonesia officially declared East Timor the 27th Province of Indonesia, in the sense of Nusantara out-look as the political, social and cultural, and economic unity as well as defence and security unity. Legally speaking it also means that any foreign acitivity or intervention on this soversignty would be a violation against Indonesian sovereignty on its territory.

Fretilin, being formerly a political organization of a certain group of East Timor people lost its status, direction and objective of its organization, and increasingly became destructive, and it was therefore called "Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan/Security Terrorizing Movement" (GPK).

Diplomatic Approach of the Indonesian Government.

Consequently, the Republic of Indonesia being one of the members of the United Nations, did not close herself from criticism launched by various member countries of the United Nations religious instituions, and others considering that the issue of East Timor still needed discussion. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia as earlier mentioned had already discussed this issue with various parties or countries prior to the declaration of East Timor territory as the 27th province of Indonesia: with the Portuguese government in Lisbon, between President Suharto and Prime Minister of Australia Whitlam in

Townsville, negotiation between Indonesian and Portuguese delegation in London and Rome, between the President of the United States together with Foreign Affairs Minister Henry Kissinger and the Indonesian government during their visit to Indonesia, and other diplomatic meetings. The government of Indonesia has an impression from the previous meetings that the Portuguese government did not have a consistent view point in respect to the future of East Timor: on the one hand wishing that the people of East Timor could have a self determination, and on the other wishing that East Timor would advisably be under the government of Indonesia (integration). Such an atittude of the Portuguese government on the future of East Timor not only prolonged the people's suffering (who on March 31, 1976 declared their wish to integrate to Indonesia), but also began losing the international credibility, including those formerly supporting the existence of Fretilin there. It was more obvious from the votes in the United Nations on that issue :

Resolution on East Timor in General Assembly of the United Nations *)

Year	Resolution	Agreed	Opposed	Abstained
1975	3485 (XXX)	72	10	43
1976	31/53	68	20	49
1977	32/34	67	26	47
1978	33/39	59	31	44
1979	34/40	62	31	45
1980	35/27	58	35	46
1981	36/50	54	42	46
1982	37/30	50	46	50
1983	excluded from the agenda of the UN (adjourned until the following year).			
1984	Portugal did not propose it to be discussed.			
1985	excluded from the agenda of the UN (adjourned until the following year).			
1986	September, not discussed.			
1987	excluded from the agenda of the UN.			

*) Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers, Quarterly 4, 1984, Brussels, Belgium, added with the final data in 1985-1987 on the above said resolution.

The data mentioned above are sufficiently clear to show the international credibility to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1982 the people of East Timor had not only elected their Governor, but also participated in the 1982 General Election. The voting indicated that a greater part of East Timor people cast the vote for the government part (Indonesia). It's worth noting that in connection with the above table, that in 1982 for instance of 10 countries sitting in the Commission on Minority of the UN on the issue of East Timor, voted for their "self determination" for East Timor people at the Planery Session of the UN but in 1985 only 4 countries still casting their votes for "self determination" of East Timor people.

The Government of Australia being the neighbouring country of Indonesia, formerly continually opposing the integration of East Timor to Indonesia, stated its standpoint on the status of East Timor that East Timor is juridically as a part of Indonesia (statement of Prime Minister Bob Hawke). Even the Australian Labour Party at its National Conference in Hobart/Tasmania on July 9, 1986 recognized East Timor as an integral part of the Indonesian Territory (statement of the Australian Minister of Technology and Science).

Promoting quality of life of East Timor people.

Being a province, East Timor has the same right, obligations and responsibilities as the other Indonesian provinces do in the life of community, people and state.

For the government of Indonesia it is not an important political issue anymore, but an urgent humanitary one, which for hundreds of years in Portuguese colony was hardly taken into account. The people's living standard and quality of East Timor have continuously been promoted through education, health, agriculture, and other infrastructures in the framework of an overall development, which after eleven years of integration to Indonesia the public can really feel the result of it. The following illustration will clarify it.

1. Various rumours occuring and launched to Indonesia on the existence of efforts for "javanization", "islamization", "co-

lonization", and so forth through transmigration project for instance were due to their insufficient knowledge on Indonesian ideology and policy which are based on Pancasila. The Indonesian community and nation do not recognize the existence of plotting either in ethnic, race, and group, religion or belief in God the Alimighty, and do not even classify the social groups into mayority and minority in the total life of community, nation and state; This also applies to the province and people of East Timor who are 90% Catholics.

Further illustration may be necessary :

The assistence of the Indonesian Government (central government) especially to spritual promotion or religious community and enhancement of facilities for religious life in Pelita IV is Rp. 251.3 million, besides the budget provided by the local regional administration. The executives of the local Catholic Churches are the natives and the relationship or cooperation between Catholic Churches of East Timor (Diocess) and MAWI* maintion steadily for instance whenever MAWI held its Conference the DILI bishop was always present. Furthermore, the leadership of DILI diocess is not in Portugal anymore, but for the time being directly handled by Vatikan. This means that Vatikan has shifted the status of diocess which was formerly subordinated by the Central government (Portugal) to Vatikan. This change cannot be separated from the linkage that East Timor territory is an integral part of Indonesia.

2. To develop from the backwardness of East Timor community, the government has encouraged the development by constructing facilities and infrastructures for educational and health sectors in almost every area of East Timor from kindergartens to universities, from Public Health Centres (Puskesmas) to hospitals. Various types of education and extension on agriculture, roads, and other facilities are provided.

*) Since 1987 MAWI has become KWI, Komperensi Waligereja Indonesia (Indonesian Bishops' Conference).

The recent data on the development growth there indicate that during the eleven years of integration with Indonesia the progress in all sectors have been twenty times higher than everything done by the Portuguese colonial government for approximately 450 years.

3. Various groups and organization outside Indonesia at times published lists of accusations in respect to what was illustrated as violation against human rights in East Timor. In Indonesia the issues regarding human rights are placed in the framework of Pancasila application, especially the principle of just and civilized humanity. It means that the application of Pancasila in Indonesia includes obligation to apply the principle of the Humanity, obligation to secure and highly respect human rights.
   On the contrary a violation against Human Rights shall be a violation against the just and civilized Humanity principle, and also against Pancasila in general. Therefore any issue regarding human rights including accusations on violation against Human Rights, should be handled seriously by the Indonesian Government and community. In the meantime the main attention of the Indonesia government and community, including the government and community in East Timor should be paid to the immediate settlement of various transitional issues as commonly found in all nations, frequently not free from various types of conflict and tension. In this case, tremendous progress were already achieved in the previous years in East Timor. Such effort together with greater improvement will diminish transitional problems and eventually eliminate the accusation of human right violations.

4. In addition to accusations of genocide, javanization, islamization, indonesianization, was also of exterminating East Timor civilization premeditatedly. Presenting people from outside East Timor (transmigration program) and teaching the Indonesian language, etc were considered a premeditated efforts to scrape out East Timor people's culture due to wrong view points. As what really happened during hundreds of years of colonization was the more diminishing of tribal culture in East Timor and replaced with the Portuguese culture. As a concrete example, there have almost

been no more names of people indicating the origin of Timorese tribes. Most of them bear Portuguese names. Likewise the lingua franca, it is not the language of tribes but Portuguese.

On the contrary, what happens after integration, is the renaissance of tribal culture in East Timor such as regional songs and folk dances developed seriously and popularized through mass media nationally.

The teaching of the Indonesian language as the national language is not abolishing regional languages but just helping people out from an isolation and enabling them to communicate with their fellow country. The development in Indonesia exactly indicates that there is no any local dialect abolished. Indonesian language is enriched with regional languages which develop naturally, and enrich themselves too. As a matter of fact there are many nations in the world should learn from Indonesia consisting of various ethnic groups and languages, but able to have a national language, i.e., Indonesian language.

What has been done by Churches in Indonesia.

All sorts of rumors have circulated, and been extended to churches in Indonesia by various institutions including religious institutions abroad, which basically inquired and even accused the Churches in Indonesia (Protestant and Rome Catholic) have done nothing to East Timor, and it was even said that they made a conspiracy with the Indonesian government.

The following would be enough as examples to indicate that the accusations mentioned above are false:

1. The Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI), formerly known as Council of Churches in Indonesia (DGI) never keeps silent if there is something wrong with human right and integrity and justice among the people.

   The churches in Indonesia speak about it, exclusively disengaging themselves from political nuances. Christian (Protestant) churches in Indonesia judge that many rumours about the churches and the Indonesian government are not only subjective but worsening the situation as well.

   These subjective views spread by various groups against Indonesia on the issue of East Timor originate from one

side only, which basically dislike Indonesia with the wrong viewpoints (militarism, authorianism, no freedom etc). Therefore the issue of East Timor (and also Irian Jaya) is always pushed forward in the areas which are still under the stabilization process of integration. The same process also applied to other regions in Indonesia prior and after the Proclamation in 1945, which is a reasonable process if viewed from the varrying tribes, races, religions or beliefs, groups and cultures of Indonesian nation.

It is more interesting that Irian Jaya and East Timor areas where the majority of population are coincidentally Christians. They notice that these two regions are seemingly separated from other Indonesian regions and communities on the whole. Churches in Indonesia consider that the two regions are the integral parts and parallel with other regions, disregarding what religion they profess.

The opinion of those considering the Indonesian government undemocratic (according to Western standard), under a military regime, authoritarian and so forth is always linked to human rights, including the right for self determination of a certain region. It is not only western in nature but also very eurocentric. The Western societies acquainted with the Indonesian community without basic knowledge about Indonesia, who are sensitive anything related to militarism. This can be understood. If we consider that the West especially Europe had historical trauma that can be provoked emotionally, assuming human rights in Indonesia are not in existence, They do not see the gratifying development in East Timor in relation to the present improvement of people's welfare, and understand its problem proportionally. They never talk about human rights in East Timor during Portuguese held power, colonialism and imperialism executed by a European nation (Portugal) for more than 4 centuries. Only after East Timor had been integrated to Indonesia, they talked about human rights there. This proves that the attention of the Indonesian govern ment towards the dignity of East Timor is significantly bigger than that of the Portuguese colonial government. However this does not mean that violation againts human rights or unjust treatments did not take place at all.

2. The outside world frequently forgets that the most spprehensive group in relation to human rights and justice including the issue of East Timor is the church. Churches and Christian people are an integral part of the nation and therefore should be fully responsible for the community, people and state in Indonesia. The Indonesian nation is a nation loving peaces and freedom including human rights and justice is manifested in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, stating among others "That in reality a freedom is the right of all nations and therefore colonization in the world should be abolished, as it is not in compliance with human rights and justice". This statement, especially dealing with human rights is presented in the second principle of Pancasila (declared in June 1945), stating "Humanity with Justice and Civilization", as already mentined above. These ideology and life perspective of the Indonesian nation had been formulated prior to the Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations in 1948. The task of the Church shall never change, including the churches already commissioned by God in Indonesia, to proclaming the Good News to all creatures. This appealing task is to make mankind prosperous, uphold justice and peace and reconsiliation for those being involved in the problems on the basis of love.

   The Indonesian Bishops' Conference in Indonesia (KWI) in connection with the mayority consisting of Roman Catholic followers in East Timor, are called to contribute assistance covering socio human assistance (promotion and education, health, and so forth) to step up the living standard of the community within the framework of stable integration and development in East Timor. This is necessary to be mentioned as the diocess leadership in East Timor is not in Jakarta but directly handled by Vatikan. This matter was reconfirmed by the Secretariat of MAWI, Mgr. Leo Soekoto, SJ, that the assistance only dealt with the humanitarian field. As the Churches do not meddle with political affairs, so the assistance offered only be in Church affairs including humanitarian aid. East Timor having being left by Portugal seems to have two principal problems, that is political and socia-humanitarian which in the history of some former Portuguese colonial countries in Latin America and Africa,

has taken a shortcut by pressing on political action based on the theology of liberation. This does not only provide a place for other ideology to grow but also endless revolution prolonging people's suffering.

MAWI has consciously limited itself, considering that the church is not a political institution and does not meddle with political affairs but welfare of mankind, and on this basis that MAWI gives socio-humanitarian assistance to East Timor. The assistance coming from various parties is welcome by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, providing proper facilities and assistance for its distribution.

3. PGI (formerly DGI) consisting of 56 member churches, representing around 90% Protestant Christians in Indonesia, in the framework of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ, salvation and renewal, justice, truth and welfare as already revealed God (Mark 1 : 15; Luke 4 : 18 — 19), participates positively, creatively, critically and realistically in the nation building. This attitude means that the Churches in Indonesia struggle to rescue mankind from suffering caused by backwardness, poverty, diseases, oppression, and uncertainly. This attitude also means that the Churches in Indonesia participate fully in upholding justice in various aspects of life: being just in economic and political life, social structure and international relations.

   The task of churches and Christian Community in Indonesia in the framework mentioned above had already been implemented in 1940-s and 1950-s in fighting for independence, independence war and revolution up to the present era of development.

   The endeavor of the Christian in promoting and developing "just and civilized humanity", truth and humanity is constantly improved, including in the issue of East Timor*). In respect to the issue of East Timor, the churches put more

*) IN 1977 there were 4,000 Christian Protestant church members in East Timor of approximately 600,000 East Timor people, 90% of them were Roman Catholic. In 1986 there were 65 Christian (Protestant) Conggregations or about 19,600 members.

emphasis on the role of reconciliation and correction to jointly develop a better, prosperous and just future of East Timor people as the manifestation of solidarity for the people of East Timor suffering from war, for the total development of Indonesian nation.

4. Before the integration, the presence and participation of Protestant Churches there in the framework of improving the local community's living standard had already been pioneered since the 1950-s though with limited activities, for instance by constructing school for children in the isolated areas. This activity was increasing after, in 1975, some 35,000 refugees fled from East Timor to Indonesian bordering territory (at Atambua) and at surrounding areas asking for protection. The Department of Service and Development of DGI immediately established a task force together with the local administration by sending some experienced field workers (field motivators). They held various kinds of professional training on agriculture and other skills.

   The suffering of the refugees did not diminish when East Timor was integrated to Indonesia in 1976. When they returned to their villages they found that their properties and houses were all destroyed. Some of them were still in the mountains and forests as they were afraid of the presence of Fretilin, and only 3 years later (1976 and 1979) they returned to their original places and hundreds of thousands of them had to stay in emergency shelters while the housings for them were being constructed.

5. It was in these critical moments the leaders and field workers of DGI directly made visits and gave humanitarian assistance such as fund, health, clothing and food from CWS, WCC and "brot fuer die Welt". Since 1980 the Executive Council of Churches in Indonesia (BPH—DGI) has decided that East Timor became a national project and has been continously giving aid, performed both individually and jointly with partner churches abroad being apprehensive to the suffering of East Timor people. An institutional cooperation of giving aid to East Timor between DGI and MAWI was the establishment of "Karya Kasih" in January 1980, a joint services agency in the sectors of education,

to the urgent humanitarian issue in East Timor in the past and the present moment.

The churches in Indonesia is very apprehensive to any issue concerning with justice and truth and will oppose very arbitrary action or various forms of appression diminishing human rights and their integrity as God's creatures. East Timor is one of the Churches' activity regions in Indonesia in enforcing justice, truth and concord among fellow man. For instance, helping process of rehabilitation and resocialization of political detainees, tramps, helping the victims of natural disasters, orphanage and old people, and so forth.

The activity of the church at national level has been conducted by contributing various suggetions for the Outlines of State Policy (GBHN), especially emphasizing on humanitation aspects such as legal, social justice, ethical and spiritual fields in the framework of national development as the application of Pancasila.

III. CLOSING

The snapshot of events already illustrated above will indicate that the East Timor community through various suffering and struggles have found their identity as an integral part of the Indonesian nation and communities. For the Indonesian people and state the issue of East Timor has been settled. It is the task of all parties including the churches in Indonesia to develop the community and people of East Timor leading to a just, prosperous, preserved as well as advanced community in a Pancasila state.

The people of East Timor in the midst of the diversity of Indonesian people will constantly maintain their identity, typical character in the course of Indonesian nation and community on the whole in entering a better common future.

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